American Journal of Qualitative Research
2025, Vol. 9 No. 2, pp. 135-157
https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/16279

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH
ISSN: 2576-2141

Adversity Creates Serendipity: COVID-19 Lockdown Experiences of Six Young Women in Hospitality and Tourism

Natilene Irain Bowker[1]
Open Polytechnic of New Zealand

Ella McLeod
University of Otago, New Zealand

ABSTRACT
Under the umbrella of a critical feminist theoretical framework, this exploratory paper unpacks how six young women, residing in New Zealand, Canada and the UK, within the hospitality and tourism industry, discursively managed their COVID-19 lockdown and related experiences, amidst the social-psychological dilemma of being available and/or wanting to work, yet not being able to work. This study adds to a current gap in critical feminist tourism research by deploying six young women's emotional experience of vulnerability as hospitality and tourism workers during a global crisis to generate nuanced understandings about how they used this vulnerable experience to gain empowerment and transformation. Data was collected via interviews between April and May 2021, and a discourse analysis was carried out on the interview transcripts underpinned by a social constructionist framework. The finding of an "adversity creates serendipity" repertoire and its resources of "luck," "having the time," and "appreciating things" offer ways of managing the challenges posed during the lockdown. Interwoven through an adversity creates serendipity repertoire was a social connectedness theme, which is examined in relation to the indigenous Māori concept of whanaungatanga. The findings are relevant because they demonstrate effective strategies for managing the adverse psycho-social affects of the COVID-19 lockdowns. The findings have application for a range of occupational sectors within society, where working remotely is not possible during a national pandemic lockdown or during other events leading to similar workplace limitations.

KEYWORDS: COVID-19, discourse analysis, hospitality and tourism, young women, social connectedness

This article is positioned under the umbrella framework of critical feminist theory. It places women's experiences of COVID-19 lockdown at the center of analysis and uses women's voices "as the most reliable point of view from which to theorize" (Grant, 2016, p. 230) about their experiences. It aims to resist taken-for-granted ways of understanding the COVID-19 lockdown by drawing attention to six young women's talk about their COVID-19 lockdown experience. Specifically, using discourse analysis underpinned by a social constructionist framework, it aims to make sense of how these young women successfully navigate the challenge of being available and/or wanting to work yet not being able to work. These young women occupy work roles within the tourism and hospitality industry. The subject

[1] Corresponding Author: Senior Academic Staff Member, Psychology, Open Polytechnic of New Zealand, 3 Cleary Street, Waterloo, Lower Hutt 5040, New Zealand. E-mail: Natilene.Bowker@openpolytechnic.ac.nz

area of this article is located within the tourism academic field, an interdisciplinary field, which also incorporates hospitality research.

Feminist research within the tourism academic field is an evolving area. Feminist reviews and critiques of the tourism literature identify socio-economic and cultural inequities within the tourism labor force inclusive of the precarity of tourism work, as well as biases in the way tourism theorizing has been produced (Chambers et al., 2017; Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015; Kalisch & Cole, 2023; Lin & Roelofsen, 2024; Rastegar et al., 2023; Yang & Schänzel, 2023). Amongst these reviews and critiques, new and emerging areas for feminist research in tourism are identified and/or touched on, such as the impact of global crises, generating knowledge from tourism workers' embodied and emotional experiences, and using tourism workers' oppressive circumstances to develop nuanced understandings of "vulnerability, empowerment, transformation, and transgression" (Lin & Roelofsen, 2024, p. 7). While there is ample research on the impact of COVID-19 on hospitality and tourism workers (e.g., Bhuiyan & Darda, 2022; Chen, 2021; Chen & Chen, 2021; Grandey et al., 2021; Kang et al., 2021; Mazilu et al., 2024; Santi Diwyarthi et al., 2021) including qualitative studies (Bichler et al., 2022; Movono et al., 2022; Paudel et al., 2023; Sann et al., 2023) and a sociological analysis of the embodied and emotional labor of "workers involved in the cleaning and maintenance of hospitality settings and their hygiene facilities" (Jones et al., 2024, p. 473), there is no apparent research that draws on the vulnerable emotional experiences of female hospitality and tourism workers, unable to work, to generate discursive knowledge. This article adds to a current gap in critical feminist tourism research by deploying six young women's emotional experience of vulnerability as hospitality and tourism workers unable to work during the global crisis of COVID-19 to generate nuanced understandings about how they used this vulnerable experience to gain empowerment and transformation. This is an exploratory study that intersects three areas: hospitality and tourism workers' vulnerable emotional experiences during a global crisis, young women's experience of COVID-19 lockdown, and the discursive management of the social-psychological dilemma of being available and/or wanting to work yet not being able to work. The primary research question is about unpacking the lockdown experiences of six young women from different geographies who work in hospitality and tourism.

Literature Review

The hospitality and tourism industry, with hospitality comprising the largest grouping within the tourism sector (Anderson & Westcott, 2021; Baum et al., 2016), spans a global landscape that is dependent on the movement of people within and between local spaces and broader geographic regions (Jamal & Robinson, 2009; Thakur et al., 2019; United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2008). It is also an industry that has been able to offer extensive employment opportunities. In a report by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2019a), travel and tourism were identified as being "one of the world's largest employers and key job creator" (p. 1), comprising 10% of roles within the global economy.

At the same time, hospitality and tourism can be a challenging industry to work in. It can be labor-intensive work (Altinay Ozdemir, 2020). Seasonal demand and a neo-liberal agenda can lead to the casualization of employment, including low wages and irregular and variable hours (Baum et al., 2016; Kalisch & Cole, 2023; Robinson et al., 2019). Using a qualitative research design involving thematic analysis, Yildirim (2021) identified the ways employees in hospitality and tourism, including department managers, made sense of their working conditions. Interviews were conducted (between November 2019 and January 2020) with 31 male and female employees from 19 5-star hotels and eight travel agencies located within Turkey's main tourist town. Participants' roles varied from housekeeper, waiter, and receptionist to tour guide and tour operation personnel, accounting personnel, and manager. Thematic analysis identified different reasons participants drew on to sustain their work choice

including the normalization in hospitality and tourism work of precarious employment, the fear and stigma of unemployment, the creation of escape plans to tolerate precarious conditions, and deceptive survival practices, such as "look[ing] like you are working more than you are" (Yildirim, 2021, p. 8). There was also the paradox of "flexible working hours" which belied the inflexible reality of always having to be available. Overall, these findings indicate different discursive strategies used to manage these work roles, including the socio-economic necessity to sustain these roles.

Compared to most other industries, the WTTC (2019b) reported that more women are employed in hospitality and tourism globally. Using tourism industry reports focused at global, regional, and/or national levels, Robinson et al. (2019) indicate that although there may be more women employed in tourism than men, across jurisdictions women consistently earned less. They were also more likely to occupy lower-quality jobs (Baum et al., 2016). More recent research echoes these findings (Kalisch & Cole, 2023; Lin & Roelofsen, 2024; Yang & Schänzel, 2023). Kensbock et al. (2016) interviewed 46 hotel room attendants from five 5-star hotels in Australia. Participants were all female. Grounded theory analysis showed how the workplace hierarchy within hotels positioned hotel room attendants at the lowest level. Attendants received top-down communication and restrictions on their role, which functioned to socially distance them from others in the hierarchy. They operated under the surveillance of supervisors whose disciplinary gaze over cleanliness performed "a hidden mechanism of control" (Kensbock et al., 2016, p. 121).

Despite these oppressive conditions, through a qualitative methodology, Kensbock et al. (2016) identified how hotel room attendants were able to maintain their own sense of well-being. This was achieved through attendants' personal belief and self-acknowledgement of the importance of their work to the success of the hotel. It was also achieved through the uniting force of attendants' mutual support and shared understanding of the highs and lows of their workplace experience. Kensbock et al.'s analysis developed a grounded theory of how the lived experience of hotel room attendants was a product of complex performances involving sociopsychological processes.

The COVID-19 pandemic has extended the complexities of operating within the hospitality and tourism industry in unrivalled ways (Altinay Ozdemir, 2020; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2021; Gössling et al., 2020; Guorsoy & Chi, 2020; Jus & Misrahi, 2021; Kalisch & Cole, 2023). The inability to work arising from lockdowns and/or a lack of tourists (Altinay Ozdemir, 2020; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2021; Gössling et al., 2020) presents an immediate challenge. While workers in other sectors may have the capacity to shift to working remotely (Franco & D'Abundo, 2024; Greene & Park, 2021), this is not a viable option for those in the hospitality and tourism industry whose roles involve in-person interactions and/or are reliant on people leaving their homes to patronize venues (Bick et al., 2020; Grandey et al., 2021; He et al., 2021). Businesses are forced to let go of staff (Kalisch & Cole, 2023; Rastegar et al., 2023). Businesses may require staff to take leave without pay, with some continuing to provide employment benefits such as accommodation and medical care (Chen & Chen, 2021).

Having to leave one's employment, even temporarily, presents a range of issues. Beyond the considerable financial strain and hardship, workplace opportunities to engage in social activities and build "relationships with customers and co-workers" (Chen & Chen, 2021, p. 2503) cease. Research identifies the psychological distress experienced by hospitality and tourism workers who were laid off or furloughed during the pandemic, including social isolation, depression, loss of personal control, and pandemic-induced panic (Chen, 2021; Chen & Chen, 2021).

Even if one is able to continue working during the pandemic, other issues ensue. Hospitality and tourism workers "face extreme levels of work-related stress and anxiety due to COVID-19" (Kang et al., 2021, p. 1338). Stress is caused by the heightened risk of contracting COVID-19 from the workplace, via customers and co-workers, which impacts workers' mental

health, sense of psychological safety within the workplace, and coping behaviors (Karatepe et al., 2021; Yin & Ni, 2021). Further, the economic uncertainty caused by COVID-19 creates fear and anxiety around the potential of losing one's job in hospitality and tourism (Altinay Ozdemir, 2020; He et al., 2021). Job insecurity can be exacerbated during an economic crisis because of the seasonal nature of hospitality and tourism work and casualization of employment (Altinay Ozdemir, 2020; Kalisch & Cole, 2023).

Some literature has also identified positive outcomes arising from the pandemic. In early 2020, prior to COVID-19's global spread, Grandey et al. (2021) surveyed US and UK hospitality employees about their work stress and health. With the pandemic's arrival, the authors refocused their study on hospitality employees' health changes before and after each country's initial lockdown. Of the 137 respondents, most identified as female and White, were employed in the UK and experienced temporary work loss. Survey findings showed that while psychological health decreased post-lockdown due to job threats, physical health improved due to relaxation. Some open-ended survey responses identified financial concerns and hardship, mental health issues, but also the benefits of not having to occupy a stressful job while receiving 80% income, being able to spend more time with children, and catching up on domestic tasks and home projects. In a population survey of 2010 New Zealand adults' lockdown experiences in April 2020, although a minority reported moderate to severe psychological distress, a majority confirmed something positive from lockdown, with 44% confirming personal aspects and 38% confirming general societal aspects (Every-Palmer et al., 2020).

This review of the literature highlights the socio-economic vulnerabilities and complexities of hospitality and tourism workers, including those of women, and the additional complexity of the unique global-historical circumstance of COVID-19 and the experience of lockdown. The COVID-19 pandemic literature identifies financial hardship and uncertainty, risks to health, and the psychological suffering of hospitality and tourism workers. The pandemic also presents some positive outcomes. This psychologically complex and contradictory combination of features raises questions about how hospitality and tourism workers are able to navigate and make sense of this relatively new COVID-19 territory.

Research Aim and Rationale

This study aims to unpack how six young women in hospitality and tourism discursively managed and justified their COVID-19 lockdown and related experiences amidst the socio-psychological dilemma of being available and/or wanting to work yet not being able to work. This dilemma is set within a broader socio-historical tension of the socio-economic need to work while managing the health risks of operating within a pandemic. A secondary aim (not addressed in the current paper) was to discursively unpack how these young women interpreted similarities and differences between their experiences and those of their male counterparts. With 'youth' and 'women' identified as those within the hospitality and tourism workforce disproportionately affected by the pandemic (Chen & Chen, 2021; Jus & Misrahi, 2021; Kalisch & Cole, 2023; Yang & Schänzel, 2023), we focused on the experiences of younger women in hospitality and tourism.

Although data has been collected from six participants in three disparate geographies, there are also socio-cultural and historical similarities between the six participants that may allow for some interesting discursive patterns in the way they talk about their lockdown and related pandemic experiences. Historically, they were all living through a global pandemic. Socially and culturally, they all identified as young women who shared the experience of having worked in a global industry, specifically hospitality and tourism, during this pandemic. The inclusion of three different countries also connects to the global context of the pandemic and the hospitality and tourism industry.

According to the Rule of Law Index (World Justice Project, 2021), the countries occupied by participants, namely New Zealand, Canada, and the UK, all shared very similar high scores (ranging from 79 to 83) on civil liberties and enforcement of regulations across 139 countries. In this regard, these women resided in similar legal jurisdictions. Subsequently, some of the policies for managing the pandemic in these countries were likely to be implemented in similar ways, according to the severity of the pandemic's threat.

While there was considerable variation in the time trajectory of the pandemic's threat to each country, when the pandemic's threat was deemed most threatening (on multiple occasions), it is likely that participants in this study would have been grappling with similar kinds of issues. This is because of their shared connection to the hospitality and tourism industry and the impact of subsequent government policies leading to the temporary closure of non-essential workplaces, cancellation of events and gatherings, and travel restrictions. For instance, as identified in the Oxford COVID-19 government response tracker (Hale et al., 2020-2023), in response to the severity of the pandemic's threat in 2021 between early January to mid-February, the UK implemented the closure of all non-essential workplaces, as well as the cancellation of all public events, restrictions on internal movements, restrictions on gatherings of more than 10 people, stay-at-home requirements and bans on international travel. In Canada during 2021, between early January to early March, the same kinds of restrictions were implemented in response to the pandemic's threat, including stay-at-home requirements, the closure of all non-essential workplaces, and bans on international travel. Likewise, in New Zealand in 2020, from the end of March to the end of April and again during August, the same kinds of restrictions were implemented, including the closure of all non-essential workplaces, stay-at-home requirements, and international travel bans (identified in the Oxford COVID-19 government response tracker). These three countries also offered some income support relief for loss of income.

Due to this being an exploratory study, six women were the focus. While a small number of interviews may arguably lead to a dearth of discursive data for analysis, in drawing upon the constructive quality of language central to discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), "phenomena can be described in a multiplicity of different ways, and any particular description that is chosen will depend upon the orientation of the speaker" (Gill, 1997, p. 142). Speakers' different geographies located within the shared global contexts of both a pandemic and the hospitality and tourism industry offer unique analytic opportunities to discursively make sense of these women's similar and different lockdown and related experiences. In other words, the voices of the six women from different geographies allow for similar and different discursive orientations for analysis. Different as well as similar interpretations can be constructed by one or more individuals in relation to the same or similar experience.

Methodology

Social constructionism is a philosophy (Gergen, 1985) that views language, including talk and text, as a social practice (Potter & Wetherell, 1994). Language is more than just being descriptive and reflecting a reality it claims to portray; it is active and constitutive (Austen, 1962; Lather, 1992). How an event or experience occurs is inextricably linked to how it is talked about (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Language is embedded within particular social, historical, and cultural contexts (Gergen, 1985). For instance, in mediaeval times, people who were depressed or angry were thought to be possessed by demons; in the 16th century, identity crises occurred (Gergen, 1985). Interpretations of events, including COVID-19, are shaped by socio-cultural and historical contexts.

Social constructionism is an epistemology that underpins discourse analysis. Discourse analysis has developed from semiotics, ethnomethodology, and linguistic philosophy (Austen,

1962; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wittgenstein, 1953). People have taken-for-granted assumptions and culturally appropriate conventions for constructing their experiences (Burr, 1995; Edwards, 2012). These constructions are established and operate through language. Discourse analysis provides a direct way of accessing how experience operates by unpacking the constructions that people use to explain and account for their experience.

Central to discourse analysis is an emphasis on how language functions as people use language to achieve particular social outcomes (Edwards & Potter, 1992). People are constructed within relationships of power according to social practices, which both constrain and enable people's actions (Davies & Harré, 1990). As soon as we give voice to a particular version of understanding, that version takes precedence over other versions (Foucault, 1972, 1977, 1979). Ways of talking about the COVID-19 lockdown could include oppression and victimhood, as well as resistance through personal empowerment (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991; Van Langenhove & Harré, 1994).

In our approach to discourse analysis, we adopt Gilbert and Mulkay's (1984) concept of an interpretative repertoire, which emphasizes the flexibility in linguistic resources available to speakers (Burr, 1995). Interpretative repertoires are built from linguistic resources or "internally consistent" (Wetherell & Potter, 1988, p. 172) regularities in discourse. These resources fundamentally contribute to and support the operation of interpretative repertoires (Wetherell & Potter, 1988).

Reflexivity

This research evolved from the second author's experience of navigating COVID-19, including lockdowns and/or mandatory isolation in three countries and two intercontinental moves. The considerable social and psychological challenges she faced as a young woman isolated under these restrictions highlighted the need for extraordinary skills, abilities, and strengths, which she had no obvious preparation in. The motivation for this study came from her experience and our desire to identify strategies in the interviews to help others manage this experience.

A second driver was our interest in the positive and negative psychological experiences of COVID-19 lockdowns on young women's mental health. A critical review of papers on the PubMed database between January and July 2020 exploring the mental health of women during the pandemic in various circumstances supported the view that women and young people have an increased risk of experiencing psychiatric symptoms during the COVID-19 pandemic (Thibaut & van Wijngaarden-Cremers, 2020). This contributed to the line of inquiry in the interviews conducted by the second author, with some follow-up questions focusing on the interviewee's mental health.

Both researchers identified as women of privilege: white, Western, and middle-class. Despite the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns impacting each in varying ways, both were able to resume relatively comfortable lives. The first author, who taught at an online tertiary institution, was able to work from home, which allowed her to continue receiving a salary. Although the second author lost her job (and temporary overseas residency) as a guide and instructor in adventure tourism due to COVID-19 lockdowns, she was able to continue her final year of degree study at her online institution, relying on her savings as well as her partner and family for financial support. The financial security afforded both researchers meant that they were likely removed from the hardships faced by some participants. The first author's ability to continue in full employment and not lose her job due to the pandemic may have positioned her, more than the second author, as an outsider looking in from a privileged lens.

The positionalities of the researchers shaped and constrained the inquiry and analysis. The convenience sampling method recruited participants who were demographically similar to the researchers. Most of the participants appeared to identify within a similar homogeneous

group of white, Western, and (mostly) middle-class women, which meant that the voices of indigenous women, working class women, and disabled women were not available to influence the analytic trajectory. Secondly, with both researchers positioned within the psychology discipline (which focuses on the individual), interview questions focused on the women's individual lockdown experiences, with little emphasis on inquiring about broader societal issues that may have influenced their experience, although gender differences were included as a specific focus of the interviews (but are not the focus of this article). Thirdly, the researchers' assumption that there could be positive psychological experiences associated with lockdown is likely to have biased the researchers' choice of analytic focus and influenced the development of an adversity creates serendipity repertoire.

Participants

Participants were recruited using convenience sampling, which involved the second author's international work-related networks in hospitality and tourism. A total of six women participated: two were recruited from New Zealand, two were recruited from Canada, and two were recruited from the UK. They were interviewed during April and May 2021, when they had each experienced at least one national lockdown. It is important to highlight that with a sample size of six, including two participants per country, findings cannot be generalized to each respective country.

Participants identified with the following nationalities and/or ethnic groups: New Zealand European, New Zealander, caucasian, Canadian, white British, and white Scottish / British. Each participant was aged between 20 and 30 years. Three participants identified with working in hospitality. One had been working with customers in a resort cafe and joint superette. During the lockdown, this participant became a university student. Another had moved to a remote region just before lockdown measures to start employment in a hotel, carrying out a range of customer-facing jobs. A third was working with customers in a café.

Two participants identified with working in adventure-tourism in customer-facing roles. One was a parkour instructor and was also finishing their university degree. The other was a sea kayaking guide studying adventure tourism at a polytechnic.

A further participant had been working in customer-facing roles within a restaurant and as a climbing instructor in a climbing gym. They were also awaiting the reopening of borders to take up a travel guide role overseas. Due to COVID-19 restrictions prohibiting them from entering another country, they decided to move out of the hospitality and tourism industry (temporarily) and obtained employment as an administrator, which allowed them to work from home.

Procedure and Analysis

Participants between 20 and 30 years old were invited via email to participate in an interview about their COVID-19 lockdown experiences. The invitation sought two women residing in Canada, two in the UK, and two in New Zealand. They identified as currently working in hospitality and tourism or as working in this industry but were now unable to due to the COVID-19 lockdown.

The study was approved by the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand Human Ethics Committee, and informed consent procedures were followed. Participants were provided with contact details of mental health support services in their respective countries within the information sheet and at the end of the interviews in case topics discussed triggered distress.

Interviews covered the following topics: initial thoughts and experiences upon first hearing about COVID-19, experience of changes over the duration of the pandemic, positive and challenging experiences, experiences of others who are coping with COVID-19 in

hospitality and tourism, similar or different experiences of others compared to yours, men's experiences of coping with COVID-19 in the hospitality and tourism industry being different or similar to your experiences, and advice to others in hospitality and tourism managing life during COVID-19. Interviews proceeded in a semi-structured fashion, allowing for coverage of these topics, with the flexibility to extend into other areas according to the organic process of the interviews. Prompts were used to seek clarification, validate participants' experience, and to pursue further lines of inquiry following issues raised by participants.

Four interviews were conducted via Skype using the video and audio features, one via Skype using the audio feature only, and one face-to-face interview was conducted via audio recording using the Voice Memos application on an Apple iPhone XR. Interviews were transcribed verbatim. A copy of the transcription was sent to each participant to review with the opportunity to alter any information. Extracts include grammatical errors and repetition to maintain the authenticity of participants' data. Pseudonyms are used to protect each participant's anonymity. Any identifying information, such as names of people or places, has been removed.

The first step involved reading interview transcripts multiple times to identify broad issues in participants' talk irrespective of questions posed. A second step involved identifying broad and loose similarities in talk to enable the inclusion of different ways of talking about similar kinds of issues (Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson, 2013). A third step involved grouping together extracts that talked about issues in similar ways to form patterns (Tuffin & Howard, 2001). Loose patterns identified in the talk included: *normal* and *not normal*, *not knowing*, *being in between*, *putting life on hold*, *out of options*, *incapacity* and *capacity*, *unexpectedness*, *being lucky*, *doing things again*, *as bad as it sounds*, *I enjoyed the downtime*, *no pressure*, *blessing in disguise*, *makes me appreciate*, *how work was handling it*, *respecting the rules*, *having to deal with people*, *working harder because you're a woman*, and *not being listened to*. From these loose patterns of talk, a fourth step involved identifying positively framed connections within and between *incapacity* and *capacity*, *unexpectedness*, *being lucky*, *doing things again*, *as bad as it sounds*, *I enjoyed the downtime*, *no pressure*, *blessing in disguise*, and *makes me appreciate*. This positively framed talk became a key focus for the development of a repertoire and potential embedded discursive resources.

Throughout these steps, it was important to make decisions about where similar kinds of talk morphed into a different kind of talk (such as whether "being lucky" and "doing things again" were separate kinds of talk or part of positively framed talk). A major decision was whether there was an overarching pattern of positively framed talk in which smaller patterns of talk would fit within or whether they were all separate and unconnected patterns of talk. This involved identifying the constructive features of participants' talk (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), where these features varied, and why they varied (Wetherell & Potter, 1988). Central to this process was analyzing the discursive function of the talk (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1988), including the discursive work being achieved by the speakers in the interview conversations.

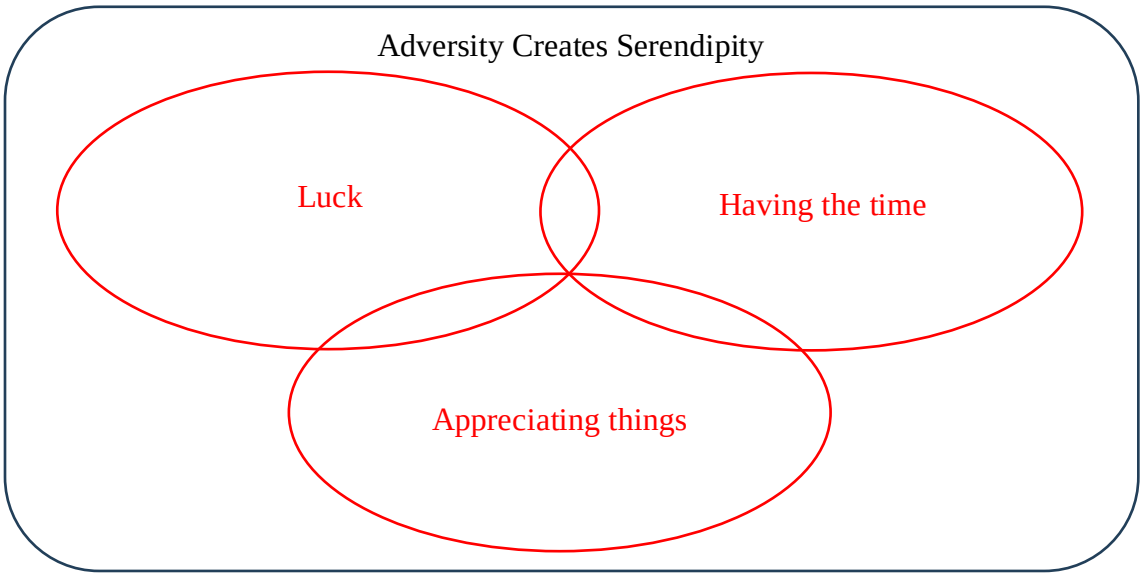
Through this analytic process, which focused on the micro and macro features of language (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), several broad patterns of talk emerged. One of these became defined as an *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire, which included three resources: *luck*, *having the time*, and *appreciating things*. Throughout the analysis, refinements were made to the composition of this repertoire, ensuring that the repertoire reflected the discursive dynamics operating in participants' talk. In cases where talk did not fit sufficiently into this repertoire, it was left aside

Adversity Creates Serendipity Repertoire: Analytic Findings

Figure 1 presents a broad graphical overview of the relationship between the overarching repertoire of *adversity creates serendipity* and its three resources, as well as the relationship between each resource and the other resources.

Figure 1

A Graphical Representation of the Relationship Between Adversity Creates Serendipity Repertoire and its Three Resources



Central to this repertoire is the construction that adverse conditions of the COVID-19 lockdown also create highly positive experiences. Such experiences were never expected. The following extract from Rini (who resides in Canada and identifies as Canadian) illustrates this repertoire:

> I think challenges are kind of a blessing in disguise because it's also what brings us you know closer together and…when so much socialization and you know visiting is restricted…'cause you can't see your normal circle you don't see your day-to-day people at work or out on errands so it's kind of encouraged us all to to reach out and connect with people overseas or friends we haven't talked to in a little while and the whole community and neighborhood has just you know really reached out and…when I started this year this is not what I expected I thought I was going to be back in [name of country] it has given me an opportunity to see my family and spend some time with them again and that's pretty good.

Rini's account constructs the challenges of COVID-19 as "a blessing in disguise." The social restrictions imposed upon people paradoxically function to facilitate a reverse climate of reaching out to others to be "closer together" (Although not stated, it is assumed that this is achieved through online or telephone communication). Because one cannot see one's "normal circle" of people, this has created a stronger need to access and connect to people, including those to whom one is less closely connected.

Rini's account is positioned within a wider geographical context involving a different country, and a wider chronological context going back to the start of the year. Across both contexts, Rini never expected to be afforded the social opportunities that have arisen. These include time to spend with family, which interconnects with having the time resource.

This next extract provides a further example of the repertoire as Iona (who resides in the UK and identifies as white Scottish/British) constructs the serendipity of having a summer off as a consequence of COVID-19:

> As bad as it sounds uh I've worked in like hospitality for like the best part of nine years and having a summer off was it is unheard of and I really did enjoy it and I know that sounds very kind of cynical considering the state of the world but it's just completely unheard of and yeah that was probably the best thing from it and I was in quite a lucky position where I'm still getting paid was still getting paid for being off which it was just like unheard of.

Iona constructs the fact that within the 9 years of working in the hospitality sector, not working over the summer period "is unheard of." This helps set up a logical justification for her enjoyment of not working, resulting from it never having occurred before and never being possible to consider because it was "unheard of." Constructing "as bad as it sounds" and "I know that sounds very kind of cynical" may function to mitigate against potential perversity viewed by others of Iona's enjoyment in the midst of harrowing global circumstances. Iona's account draws on the resource of *luck* to further account for the serendipity of her situation.

Luck

Within the *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire, this resource justifies serendipity in the face of adversity. In each case, *luck* is what creates a significant change in direction towards something positive and away from something negative. There is an implied understanding that if it had not been for the luck, the experience would have resembled the adversity encountered by others (c.f. Hayes & Locke's (2024) *lucking* theme in their duoethnographic analysis of two working class women who succeeded, against the odds, in holding academic positions). In reply to a question about whether her experience changed over time, Claire (who resides in New Zealand and identifies as New Zealand European) provides the following account:

> I think uh because it was studying in the tourism industry uhm a lot of the uhmm people I was studying with my classmates were quite unsure of what was going to happen next and if they would have a job in the industry 'cause we were supposed to be uhm finishing our course the end of the year and we it felt like we were getting a diploma that wasn't much use in the world anymore…I was one of the lucky ones I think 'cause I had reached out to a company while I was studying and did some work experience for them to just get my name in in there and they luckily offered me a job over the summer yeah and which I wasn't really expecting…were we were all a bit unsure what the season will bring because obviously no overseas travelers uhm but surprisingly we've actually been really busy uhm like probably one of the busiest seasons, obviously we did have the less guides and less people working for us, but uhm we had heaps and heaps of [name of nationality] wanting to come with on their holidays and so I was lucky that I had a lot of work.

Despite Claire's agency in gaining exposure, which then led to her being offered a longer-term role, Claire positions luck as being primarily responsible. Claire's and others' employment uncertainty is constructed around the lack of overseas customers, which helps qualify the luck of being offered employment. This lack of overseas customers, compounded by the lack of staff, creates less than favorable conditions in contrast to "one of the busiest seasons," where Claire constructs her third experience of luck.

The whole account is positioned within a broader context involving the acquisition of a qualification without much relevance. This deployment occurs on a global scale where the

qualification ceases to be of "much use in the world anymore." This further justifies the use of luck in the construction of Claire's experience, where she has obtained the serendipity of employment amidst global and local adversity. In reply to whether her experiences were similar or different to others, Rini offers the following account:

> I was pretty down for a little while at first when I was not working and I was sitting at home all day and just kind of not going out because there was not much to do I my mental health also suffered I wasn't you know I was grumpy more I just didn't want to do anything I didn't know if it was if I should look for work because I wanted to go back to my job I liked my job and so for a couple of months I was unemployed and I definitely had a lot of those same challenges of struggling with mental health and then not having the coping mechanisms 'cause for me what I like to do for my mental health is go outside and be active I think I was really lucky that I was handed an opportunity for a full time job which is kind of helped resolve some of that.

Rini constructs her adversity around (a) the unease between a moral obligation to look for work yet simultaneously wanting to retain one's former job which was a preferred job, despite not being able to do that job; (b) the related social and psychological outcomes involving feeling "pretty down for a while," "not going out," being "grumpy more," and "struggling with mental health"; and (c) not being able to employ one's own coping strategies to resolve these issues. The luck of a full-time job is positioned as a resource for solving at least some of these issues. Being handed luck implies the full-time job was not something Rini had to seek out, in contrast to Claire's experience. This further strengthens the serendipity of Rini's luck. In reply to a follow-up question about whether COVID-19 affected her mental health, Lily (who resides in New Zealand and identifies as a New Zealander) constructs her experience:

> I feel like I had it so lucky compared to others like if I had to be months in lockdown or if I lived on my own, it would have been a whole different story, but it was really nice like yeah because I had [name of partner] and then we moved back in with mum and dad, so we were like, well it got a little bit boring but it wasn't anything major like it was just like having to find something new to watch on Netflix.

In contrast to Rini's and Claire's accounts, Lily deploys the serendipity of her living situation. Her luck is attributed to three things: a relatively short lockdown compared to others' experience of months of lockdown; having a partner to be with in lockdown rather than being alone; and compared to the major things others' experienced, dealing with the minor aspect of a little boredom, resolved through the ease of finding "something new to watch on Netflix."

Having the Time

This resource within the *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire functions in varying ways in participants' talk. It deploys the opportunity of being afforded the time to do things that one would not have had if it were not for the adverse event of lockdown. The following extract provides an example of this resource as Lily responds to a follow-up question about whether she made any bread during the lockdown:

> Yeah but I never would of made a loaf of bread myself if it wasn't for that time to be able to honest like that was the first time I'd actually been like 'Oh I'll make a loaf of bread.'

The opportunity to make bread is constructed as entirely due to the time afforded through lockdown. This time went beyond the activity of making the bread to being afforded the time to think about making bread. The impetus for making bread and the action of doing it

is all credited to the lockdown time. The next extract from Iona occurs in response to a follow-up question regarding any positive experiences:

> I started painting again which I hadn't done for well since I left school really I started embroidering again and just got out walking a lot more and just being outside which it was really nice yeah to have the time for it time to do many different things.

A range of activities are constructed. Several deploy activities that are being re-engaged with (in one case for the first time) after a time lapse, while others are constructed around a more frequent engagement than previously. The COVID-19 lockdown is positioned as being responsible for providing the time and hence the serendipity "to do many different things." In a similar excerpt, Rini discusses the different things she and others have been able to do in reply to a question on strategies for addressing the challenges of COVID-19.

> We've been really focusing on not what can't we do but what can we do and it's given us a chance we bought a kayak so we've been going kayaking 'cause it's you know it's something that you can do on your own and we're blessed with having so much nature and mountains nearby that we've kind of been like well we can't do all our normal things why not go out buy a kayak and pick that up for this summer and it gives us something to do and it's been really fun another positive that came out of it is since right around when the lockdown went through last year my sister started thinking about getting a hedgehog and it ended up turning out that we ended up adopting a hedgehog which has been so good 'cause it's something to look forward to every day in the evening or in the mornings having hedgy time.

Rini's account constructs the serendipity of taking up new activities afforded through the lockdown. These activities are presented as deliberate strategies for dealing with the challenges. In the face of not being able to "do all our normal things," having the capacity to engage in these new activities provides a legitimate solution that is also fun. These activities include the construction of time with a new pet, which also functions as "something to look forward to every day."

In this last extract, Lily is responding to a question about whether COVID-19 has affected her mental health: "it was nice to have some time off and like not have to worry about work." The time away from work and simultaneously being absolved of any "worry about work" were constructed out of the adversity of lockdown. These also functioned to negate the suggestion of negative effects on Lily's mental health from the COVID-19 lockdown.

Appreciating Things

This resource is another discursive tool within the *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire in which the lockdown experience is constructed as creating something positive. It was also used in a slightly different yet interconnected way: as validating the psychological management of the challenges brought about through lockdown.

The first extract illustrates this resource in relation to how the lockdown is constructed as creating something positive. Claire is responding to a question about the positive things she experienced:

> I think it made our all the students studying the diploma really appreciative of being together and with each other and you know having people around to go and venture with and do and I appreciate that we could have the freedom to do things so I think it made us realize how lucky we are.

Claire constructs the ability to appreciate the value of being together with other people, including being able to physically do things together. This new appreciation has been experienced by all of those studying the same diploma as her. The appreciation also includes valuing "the freedom to do things." These appreciation abilities have been constructed from the lockdown restrictions. Claire's account ends by drawing on the *luck* resource, which functions to further justify appreciating things in the context of the global restrictions faced by others.

The next extract illustrates the *appreciating things* resource as a way of validating the psychological management of COVID-19 challenges and was constructed by Rini in response to a question about what things were most challenging or difficult.

> I really miss being able to go out and see people without having to you know constantly think or or be distanced or you know outside and wear masks especially with winters here being not very conducive for outdoors and I've had the double problem now that the majority of my friend group now lives in [name of country] and so I've had a lot less kind of face-to-face contact with people in general so that's been really hard and also not being able to work in the outdoor industry or in tourism it's also been really hard that a lot of those things are shut most sports and rec things are shut even just going out for a bike ride when you're put into isolation you're not even allowed to go outside for a walk and being outdoors and being active is really important to my mental health so when everything is shut that's definitely been a huge challenge…I'm really grateful that the one thing that didn't shut was the ski hills because that was like a way to get outside and stay active and you know do something productive…like even if it's not you know meeting up with people you know just seeing people outside in the world around you it's like there's more than just us.

The account begins with the construction of the hardships experienced during the lockdown. Central to these is missing the freedom to access and see people (without social distancing requirements). This is exacerbated by the fact that Rini's friends are now living in a different country, resulting in a major reduction in face-to-face contact. Added to this, Rini is not able "to work in the outdoor industry or in tourism." Many of the outdoor and indoor physical recreational areas are closed. The forced isolation in lockdown has meant that Rini is prohibited from engaging in basic outdoor activities such as walking and cycling. However, accessing these physical activities plays a very important role in maintaining Rini's mental health. All of these restrictions are set against the construction of a single recreational activity open during lockdown: "the ski hills." Rini's deployment of her very strong appreciation helps legitimize the agency of this single activity to meet her well-being needs and, hence, save her from the precariousness of poor mental health.

Rini qualifies the construction further by noting that even if one cannot meet in person, there was still a significant social benefit of being able to see other people outside, afforded by the recreational activity that was open. It is inferred from Rini's construction that the lockdown created a reality in which Rini felt like she was the only one in the world. The appreciation constructed for the one activity that was accessible helps validate the meaningful change in Rini's reality, in which there was more than just her in the world, which secured her mental health during lockdown.

Discussion and Conclusion

The *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire brings together specific resources in participants' talk, with each contributing different types of benefits. The *luck* resource created a significant change in direction away from something negative and towards something

positive. In the face of harrowing global and local circumstances, including being deprived of customers and the inevitability of unemployment and its psychologically harmful consequences, the *luck* resource provides a legitimate explanation for the positive outcomes experienced. *Having the time* resource positioned the lockdown as the source of the opportunity for time not previously accessed. This time opened up new opportunities for engaging in a range of hobbies, interests, and leisure activities, in addition to opening up legitimate time away from work. The *appreciating things* resource was similar to *having the time* resource in that it identified another category of benefits brought about through the lockdown. These include a newfound appreciation for aspects of life not possible during lockdown, such as physically being together and the freedom to do things.

The *appreciating things* resource also functioned to legitimize the need to psychologically manage the challenges brought about by the lockdown. These challenges were of an extreme nature. They included forced isolation and being prohibited from engaging in basic outdoor activities like walking and cycling. Together, these restrictions had the potential to severely impact one's mental health. Deploying the appreciating things resource was an important psychological intervention that enabled a change in reality for the better. The *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire and its resources offered practical psychological interventions for these young women while they were managing the extreme challenges posed during the COVID-19 lockdown.

Despite lockdown restrictions on social interaction, interwoven through the extracts was a theme of social connectedness. The indigenous Māori concept of whanaungatanga provides an effective tool for unpacking this further (Māori are indigenous to New Zealand). "Whanaungatanga is about being part of a larger whole…[and] knowing that you are not alone, but that you have a wider set of acquaintances that provide support…[it] is the antithesis of …individualism" (Winiata, 2003, p. 7). Amongst participants' extracts, being with others, such as one's partner and parents, was constructed as a positive social force. While whanaungatanga includes relating based on kinship ties, it also extends beyond this (Durie, 2001). The "unifying force[s]" of "mutual support, companionship, [and] socialisation" facilitate relating based on proximity (Durie, 2001, p. 195). Whanaungatanga also extends to the unifying force facilitated through online communication when there is geographic separation (Durie, 2001). Within participants' extracts, there was a focus on reaching out and connecting with others (including electronically) beyond one's familiar circle as a psychological strategy for dealing with social restrictions.

Even if one was not able to directly interact with others, being able to see other people "outside in the world around you" was psychologically beneficial; it created "that sense of community" and helped mitigate negative mental health outcomes. The holistic nature of indigenous Māori health models, integrating layers of interconnectedness, demonstrate the fundamental importance of social connectedness for maintaining positive mental health and well-being (Durie, 1998, 2001; Wilson et al., 2021). Quantitative research investigating the effects of the COVID-19 lockdown has also identified social connectedness as a relevant factor contributing to individuals' coping abilities (Amoah & Amoah, 2022; Dailey et al., 2023; Gregory et al., 2021; Nitschke et al., 2021; Ottoni et al., 2022). With young adult females' mental health scores adversely affected by lockdown restrictions compared to young adult males' scores (Stroud & Gutman, 2021), the practical psychological strategies and processes identified in the current study reinforce and further advance understanding of the relationship between social connectedness and mental wellness for young women during COVID-19 lockdown.

From critical feminist and social constructionist theoretical frameworks, the *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire demonstrates how these young women were able to construct their own agency during oppressive and vulnerable circumstances. Agency is constructed in a variety of ways throughout their talk. It occurred when they talked about the freedom and

capacity to do things (e.g., making a loaf of bread, painting, kayaking, spending time with family). It also occurred when they identified specific actions that led to specific outcomes, such as reaching out to a company for work, reaching out and connecting with people, taking a break, and seeing other people in the world being outside. Together, these acts of agency demonstrate how these young women established their own abilities, capacities, competencies, and productivity during highly restrictive circumstances and a significantly less productive time for tourism and hospitality businesses. These acts of agency speak to feminist conceptualizations of power as being associated with capacity, ability, and competence, compared to patriarchal ideas of power involving domination (Hartsock, 1984, as cited in Grant, 2016). These acts of agency also demonstrate how these young women were able to resist taken-for-granted ways of understanding COVID-19 lockdown, such as those based on uncertainty, fear, and not being able to work (Altinay Ozdemir, 2020; Chen, 2021; Chen & Chen, 2021; Paudel et al., 2023), and instead transform their adverse circumstances into empowering experiences for well-being and personal growth.

Interestingly, the resource of *luck* was also constructed as a tool for agency. The young women positioned luck as primarily responsible for their employment opportunity or their comfortable living arrangements during the COVID-19 pandemic. From a critical feminist perspective, with respect to their employment opportunity, luck may also function to downplay their own skills, competencies, and abilities as reasons for securing employment. However, at the same time, the luck resource may also account for the relative rarity of gaining employment during a global pandemic, where work opportunities within hospitality and tourism were often scarce. The *lucking and falling into college* theme, used in Hayes and Locke's (2024) research, also captures circumstances of relative rarity (involving working-class women gaining entry into an elite institution).

The luck resource intersects with existing feminist conceptualizations of the relationship between agency and vulnerability, which are distinct from seeing agency and vulnerability as in necessary opposition or as internal characteristics. Drawing upon feminist theorizing (Anderson, 2014; Mackenzie et al., 2014; Roest et al., 2023; Rohe & Suh, 2022), vulnerability and agency are both contingent on socially and contextually situated circumstances. These circumstances are also akin to the social constructionist framework underpinning discourse analysis. Socially situated contexts have the power to increase or decrease an individual's vulnerability to particular conditions (Mackenzie et al., 2014; Roest et al., 2023; Rohe & Suh, 2022). Although the women were vulnerable to loss of employment during COVID-19, their interaction with the immediate social context situated them with access to work or financial support. Similarly, agency can be socially and contextually situated in that situations and contexts permit whether one is able or unable to exercise agency (Anderson, 2014; Mackenzie, 2014; Roest et al., 2023; Rohe & Suh, 2022). Rather than seeing agency and vulnerability in opposition or as internal characteristics, the luck resource demonstrated how participants' socially situated contexts within the vulnerability of a pandemic afforded them agency to gain employment or experience comfortable living arrangements.

There are similarities between the findings in this discursive study and Radka et al.'s (2022) thematic analysis of verbatim quotes (textually recorded by telephone interviewers) from 141 participants in a health-related follow-up study conducted in 2020 during the first COVID-19 lockdown in New Zealand. Radka et al.'s (2022) study identified a minor narrative of *affordances and positive reflections*, countering a dominant theme of *loss, limitations, and restrictions*. Affordances were based on the lockdown environment affording certain benefits, from *positive financial impacts* and *positive experiences with work* to *affordance of time*, which enabled reconnecting "with friends and family" as well as slowing down and reassessing one's situation (Radka et al., 2022, p. 4). *Positive reflections* included "gratefulness" and "a heightened sense of connection with others" (Radka et al., 2022, p. 4). Although none of the participants were below the age of 30, with the majority being between 40 and 69 years, there

are interconnections with the *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire, including the resources of *having the time* and *appreciating things*.

In explaining their findings, Radka et al. (2022) proposed that "participants may have been seeking to identify positive aspects of lockdown as a way of coping with negative impacts experienced during this period" (p. 4). The *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire inclusive of its three resources (*luck*, *having the time*, and *appreciating things*) takes this further to conceptualize and demonstrate participants' discursive strategies for successfully coping with their lockdown experience, amidst the social-psychological dilemma of being available and/or wanting to work, yet not being able to work. This reinforces the strengths of qualitative research methods as they allow "us to capture and understand how people make meaning and sense" of life events, including unexpected outcomes (Teti et al., 2020, p. 1).

It is vital to acknowledge that the participants in this study did not identify with indigenous groups. They appeared to occupy, from all accounts, a non-indigenous and predominantly white ethnic category. The privileges that go with the birthright of being "white" (Addy, 2008; Borrell et al., 2009) may have helped contribute, in varying ways, to the construction of serendipitous opportunities in participants' talk. Such privileges include social and economic advantages afforded from occupying a dominant and/or non-marginalized membership within society. A different discourse may have emerged if participants identified with indigenous groups. In examining the social and economic gender inequalities of the COVID-19 pandemic in New Zealand, Masselot and Hayes (2020) highlight how Māori and Pasifika women are "concentrated in sectors which are vulnerable to the [pandemic's] economic downturn, such as…tourism and low-skilled manual operations" (p. 61), with hospitality work potentially falling into this latter category. Akin to other qualitative studies on the COVID-19 lockdown (Choi et al., 2021; Radka et al., 2022), it is important for research on future pandemics to include the voices of indigenous participants.

In connection to the limitations of the sample used in this study, the sampling method and the number of participants must also be highlighted. The deployment of a convenience sampling method was a significant limitation as it severely constrained the scope of participants recruited for the study. Most of the participants appeared to identify within a similar homogeneous group of white, Western, and (mostly) middle-class women, akin to the researchers, which biased the sample and meant that the voices of indigenous women, working-class women, and disabled women were not available to influence the analytic trajectory. Also, it was not surprising that at least one-third of participants' occupations involved working in adventure-tourism and undertaking tertiary study, akin to the second author's experience, from whose networks the convenience sample began its deployment. A further limitation was the small sample size, which severely limits the generalizability of the findings.

The sampling method and the subsequent homogeneity of the sample meant that the analysis was vulnerable to the influence of some voices over others in the development of the repertoire and accompanying resources. Rini's talk appeared consistently in all three resources and in the overarching repertoire. Critically, the findings may reflect much more of Rini's experience compared to the experiences of the other participants. If more participants had been interviewed, the nature and operation of the repertoire and accompanying resources may have been quite different.

The findings have application for a range of occupational sectors within society, where working remotely is not possible during a national pandemic lockdown or other events leading to similar workplace limitations. Workplace mental health initiatives are recommended. Firstly, even if employees cannot attend the workplace, having (online or face-to-face) opportunities to connect with work colleagues will maintain social connectedness and build mental health resilience during uncertainty. Secondly, ensuring employees are able to focus on their own personal abilities, capacities, and competencies (outside of what they do at work) will also contribute to maintaining mental health resilience by counteracting their lack of capacity-

building in the workplace. Thirdly, communicating to employees the importance of maintaining their psychological well-being (such as through the first and second recommendations) despite the oppressive circumstances will also help build their resilience. Future research could carry out interviews with employees in other industries, such as construction and real estate, where working remotely would not be possible during a national pandemic or related event, to identify how they manage the highly restrictive circumstances and the strategies they use and whether there are similarities with the strategies used by participants in this study.

In conclusion, this paper demonstrates how six young women in hospitality and tourism, residing in New Zealand, Canada, and the UK, were able to successfully navigate the challenges posed during the COVID-19 lockdown while not being able to work. The *adversity creates serendipity* repertoire and its three resources of *luck*, *having the time*, and *appreciating things* focused on the opportunities and benefits available, including the importance of social connectedness in maintaining one's mental health. From critical feminist and social constructionist theoretical frameworks, the repertoire enabled these young women to construct their own agency by establishing their abilities, capacities, competencies, and productivity. By deploying these young women's emotional experience of vulnerability as hospitality and tourism workers unable to work during a global crisis, nuanced understandings of how they used this vulnerable experience to gain empowerment, transformation, and resilience were achieved. In doing so, the repertoire also demonstrates how these young women were able to resist taken-for-granted ways of understanding the COVID-19 lockdown within the hospitality and tourism field.

Disclosure Statement

There were no financial interests or benefits derived from this article.

References

Addy, N. (2008). White privilege and cultural racism: Effects on the counselling process. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling*, *28*(1), 10–23.

Altinay Ozdemir, M. (2020). What are the economic, psychological and social consequences of the Covid-19 crisis on tourism employees? *International Journal of Social, Political and Economic Research*, *7*(4), 1137–1163. https://doi.org/10.46291/IJOSPERvol7iss4pp1137-1163

Amoah, A., & Amoah, B. (2022), The COVID-19 pandemic lockdown: A buzz of negativity with a silver lining of social connectedness. *Journal of Economic and Administrative Sciences*, *38*(1), 178–197. https://doi.org/10.1108/JEAS-07-2020-0132

Anderson, J. (2014). Autonomy and vulnerability entwined. In C. Mackenzie, W. Rogers & S. Dodds (Eds.), *Vulnerability: New essays in ethics and feminist philosophy* (pp. 134–161). Oxford University Press.

Anderson, W., & Westcott, M. (Eds.). (2021). *Introduction to tourism and hospitality in BC* (2nd ed.). BCcampus. https://opentextbc.ca/introtourism2e/

Austen, J. (1962). *How to do things with words.* Oxford University Press.

Baum, T., Cheung, C., Kong, H., Kralj, A., Mooney, S., Thanh, H. N. T., Ramachandran, S., Ruzic, M. D., & Siow, M. L. (2016). Sustainability and the tourism and hospitality workforce: A thematic analysis. *Sustainability*, *8*(8), 809–829. https://doi.org/10.3390/su8080809

Bhuiyan, M. A. H., & Darda, M. A. (2022). The COVID-19 pandemic and sustainable tourism development. *Nature Environment and Pollution Technology*, *21*(4), 1913–1919. https://doi.org/10.46488/NEPT.2022.v21i04.046

Bichler, B. F., Petry, T., & Peters, M. (2022). 'We did everything we could': How employees' made sense of COVID-19 in the tourism and hospitality industry. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *25*(23), 3766–3782. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2021.1985974

Bick, A., Blandin, A., & Mertens, K. (2020, June). *Work from home after the COVID-19 outbreak* (Working Paper No. 2017). Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. https://www.dallasfed.org/-/media/documents/research/papers/2020/wp2017r1.pdf

Borrell, B. A. E., Gregory, A. S., McCreanor, T. N., Jensen, V. G. L., & Moewaka Barnes, H. E. (2009). "It's hard at the top but it's a whole lot easier than being at the bottom": The role of privilege in understanding disparities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, *3*(1), 29–50.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism.* Routledge.

Chambers, D., Munar, A. M., Khoo-Lattimore, C., & Biran, A. (2017). Interrogating gender and the tourism academy through epistemological lens. *Anatolia*, *28*(4), 501–513. https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2017.1370775

Chen, C.-C. (2021). Psychological tolls of COVID-19 on industry employees. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *89*, Article 103080. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2020.103080

Chen, C.-C., & Chen, M.-H. (2021). Well-being and career change intention: COVID-19's impact on unemployed and furloughed hospitality workers. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *33*(8), 2500–2520. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-07-2020-0759

Choi, K., Giridharan, N., Cartmell, A., Lum, D., Signal, L., Puloka, V., Davies, C., Baker, M., Kvalsvig, A., Crossin, R., & Gray, L. (2021). Life during lockdown: A qualitative study of low-income New Zealanders' experience during the COVID-19 pandemic. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *134*(1538), 52–67.

Dailey, S. F., Parker, M. M., & Campbell, A. (2023). Social connectedness, mindfulness, and coping as protective factors during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *101*(1), 114–126. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12450

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *20*, 43–63. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1990.tb00174.x

Dawson, D. L., & Golijani-Moghaddam, N. (2020). COVID-19: Psychological flexibility, coping, mental health, and wellbeing in the UK during the pandemic. *Journal of Contextual Behavioral Science*, *17*, 126–134. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcbs.2020.07.010

Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora: Māori health development* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health.* Oxford University Press.

Edwards, D. (2012). Discursive and scientific psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *51*(3), 425–435. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2012.02103.x

Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive psychology*. SAGE Publications.

Every-Palmer, S., Jenkins, M., Gendall, P., Hoek, J., Beaglehole, B., Bell, C., Williman, J., Rapsey, C., & Stanley, J. (2020). Psychological distress, anxiety, family violence, suicidality, and wellbeing in New Zealand during the COVID-19 lockdown: A cross-sectional study. *PLoS ONE*, *15*(11), Article e0241658. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0241658

Ewert, A., & Davidson, C. (2021). After the plague: Revisiting experiential and adventure education outcome variables after Covid-19. *Journal of Experiential Education*, *44*(2), 104–120. https://doi.org/10.1177/1053825921992388

Figueroa-Domecq, C., Pritchard, A., Segovia-Pérez, M., Morgan, N., & Villacé-Molinero, T. (2015). Tourism gender research: A critical accounting. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *52*, 87–103. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2015.02.001

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison.* Allen Lane.

Foucault, M. (1979). *The history of sexuality: Volume 1: An introduction*. Allen Lane.

Franco, P. F., & D'Abundo, M. L. (2024). Turned on or off by telework? Perceptions of quality of life while working from home in the United Kingdom during the COVID-19 pandemic. *American Journal of Qualitative Research, 8*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/14013

Gergen, K. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist, 40*(3), 266–275. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.40.3.266

Gilbert, G., & Mulkay, M. (1984). *Opening Pandora's box: A sociological analysis of scientist's discourse*. Cambridge University Press.

Gill, R. (1997). Discourse analysis: Practical implementation. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences* (pp. 141–156). British Psychological Society.

Giousmpasoglou, C., Marinakou, E., & Zopiatis, A. (2021). Hospitality managers in turbulent times: The COVID-19 crisis. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 33*(4), 1297–1318. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-07-2020-0741

Gössling, S., Scott, D., & Hall, C. M. (2020). Pandemics, tourism and global change: A rapid assessment of COVID-19. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 29*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1758708

Grandey, A. A., Sayre, G. M., & French, K. A. (2021). "A blessing and a curse": Work loss during coronavirus lockdown on short-term health changes via threat and recovery. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 26*(4), 261–275. https://doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000283

Grant, J. (2016). Experience and epistemology in feminist theory. In L. Disch & M. Hawkesworth (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of feminist theory* (pp. 227–246). Oxford University Press.

Greene, M. V., & Park, G. (2021). Promoting reflexivity during the COVID-19 pandemic. *American Journal of Qualitative Research, 5*(1), 23–29. https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/9717

Gregory, M. A., Legg, N. K., Senay, Z., Barden, J.-L., Phiri, P., Rathod, S., Turner, B. J., & Paterson, T. S. E. (2021). Mental health and social connectedness across the adult lifespan in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Canadian Journal on Aging, 40*(4), 554–569. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980821000477

Guorsoy, D., & Chi, C. G. (2020). Effects of COVID-19 pandemic on hospitality industry: Review of the current situations and a research agenda [Editorial]. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management, 29*(5), 527–529. https://doi.org/10.1080/19368623.2020.1788231

Hale, T., Petherick, A., Philips, T., Anania, J., Andretti de Mello, B., Angrist, N., Barnes, R., Boby, T., Cameron-Blake, E., Cavalieri, A., Di Folco, M., Edwards, B., Ellen, L., Elms, J., Furst, R., Ribeiro, L. G., Green, K., Goldszmidt, R., Hallas, L., …Zhang, Y. (2020-2023). *Oxford COVID-19 government response tracker.* Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford. https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/covid-19-government-response-tracker

Harré, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 21*(4), 393–407. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1991.tb00203.x

Hayes, S. D., & Locke, L. A. (2024). 'White trash' in the academy: Working-class women professors discuss their backgrounds and education. *American Journal of Qualitative Research, 8*(1), 107–132. https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/14087

He, J., Mao, Y., Morrison, A. M., & Coca-Stefaniak, J. A. (2021). On being warm and friendly: The effect of socially responsible human resource management on employee fears of

the threats of COVID-19. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *33*(1), 346–366. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-04-2020-0300

Jamal, T., & Robinson, M. (2009). Introduction: The evolution and contemporary positioning of tourism as a focus of study. In T. Jamal & M. Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of tourism studies* (pp. 1–16). SAGE Publications.

Jones, C., White, L., Slater, J., & Pluquailic, J. (2024). Hospitality work as social reproduction: Embodied and emotional labour during COVID-19. *Sociology*, *58*(2), 471–448. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385231189190

Jus, N., & Misrahi, T. (2021, June). *Global economic impact and trends 2021*. World Travel & Tourism Council. https://wttc.org/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/2021/Global%20Economic%20Impact%20and%20Trends%202021.pdf?ver=2021-07-01-114957-177

Kalisch, A. B., & Cole, S. (2023). Gender justice in global tourism: Exploring tourism transformation through the lens of feminist alternative economics. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *31*(12), 2698–2715. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2022.2108819

Kang, S.-E., Park, C., Lee, C.-K., & Lee, S. (2021). The stress-induced impact of COVID-19 on tourism and hospitality workers. *Sustainability*, *13*(3), Article 1327. https://doi.org/10.3390/su13031327

Karatepe, O. M., Saydam, M. B., & Okumus, F. (2021). COVID-19, mental health problems, and their detrimental effects on hotel employees' propensity to be late for work, absenteeism, and life satisfaction. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *24*(7), 934–951. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2021.1884665

Kensbock, S., Jennings, G., Bailey, J., & Patiar, A. (2016). Performing: Hotel room attendants' employment experiences. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *56*, 112–127. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2015.11.010

Langdridge, D., & Hagger-Johnson, G. (2013). *Introduction to research methods and data analysis in psychology* (3rd ed.). Pearson Education.

Lather, P. (1992). Postmodernism and the human sciences. In S. Kvale (Ed.), *Psychology and postmodernism* (pp. 88–109). SAGE Publications.

Lin, C.-C. T., & Roelofsen, M. (2024). Feminist tourism geographies as reflected in their emergent histories. *Tourism Geographies*. Advance online publications. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2024.2381061

Mackenzie, C. (2014). The importance of relational autonomy and capabilities for an ethics of vulnerability. In C. Mackenzie, W. Rogers & S. Dodds (Eds.), *Vulnerability: New essays in ethics and feminist philosophy* (pp. 33–59). Oxford University Press.

Mackenzie, C., Rogers, W., & Dodds, S. (2014). Introduction: What is vulnerability, and why does it matter for moral theory? In C. Mackenzie, W. Rogers & S. Dodds (Eds.), *Vulnerability: New essays in ethics and feminist philosophy* (pp. 1–29). Oxford University Press.

Masselot, A., & Hayes, M. (2020). Exposing gender inequalities: Impacts of COVID-19 on Aotearoa / New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations*, *45*(2), 57–69. https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/nzjer/article/view/21/29

Mazilu, M., Nita, A., Babat, A., Draguleasa, I-A., & Grigore, M. (2024). Risk and sustainable tourism resilience in the post economic crisis and COVID-19 pandemic period. *Present Environment and Sustainable Development*, *18*(1), 235–254. https://doi.org/10.47743/pesd2024181017

Movono, A., Scheyvens, R., & Auckram, S. (2022). Silver linings around dark clouds: Tourism, Covid-19 and a return to traditional values, villages and the vanua. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *63*(2), 164–179. https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12340

Nitschke, J. P., Forbes, P. A. G., Nida, A., Cutler, J., Apps, M. A. J., Lockwood, P L., & Lamm, C. (2021). Resilience during uncertainty? Greater social connectedness during COVID-19 lockdown is associated with reduced distress and fatigue. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, *26*(2), 553–569. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjhp.12485

Ottoni, C. A., Winters, M., & Sims-Gould, J. (2022). "We see each other from a distance": Neighbourhood social relationships during the COVID-19 pandemic matter for older adults' social connectedness. *Health & Place*, *76*, Article 102844. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2022.102844

Park, E., Kim, W.-H., & Kim, S.-B. (2020). Tracking tourism and hospitality employees' real-time perceptions and emotions in an online community during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *25*(23), 3761–3765. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2020.1823336

Paudel, R., Khadka, S., Rai, J., & Singh, R. (2023). Psychological impact of COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown among the population involved in tourism sector in Lakeside of Pokhara: A qualitative study. *Health Science Reports*, *6*(7), Article e1382. https://doi.org/10.1002/hsr2.1382

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. SAGE Publications.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1994). Analysing discourse. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative* data (pp. 47–68). SAGE Publications.

Radka, K., Wyeth, E. H., & Derrett, S. (2022). A qualitative study of living through the first New Zealand COVID-19 lockdown: Affordances, positive outcomes, and reflections. *Preventive Medicine Reports*, *26*, Article 101725. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2022.10172

Rastegar, R., Higgins-Desbiolles, F., & Ruhanen, L. (2023). Tourism, global crises and justice: Rethinking, redefining and reorienting tourism futures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *31*(12), 2613–2627. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2023.2219037

Robinson, R., Martins, A., Solnet, D., & Baum, T. (2019). Sustaining precarity: Critically examining tourism and employment. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *27*(7), 1008–1025. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2018.1538230

Roest, J., Nkosi, B., Seeley, J., Molyneux, S., & Kelley, M. (2023). Respecting relational agency in the context of vulnerability: What can research ethics learn from the social sciences? *Bioethics*, *37*, 379–388. https://doi.org/10.1111/bioe.13139

Rohe, R., & Suh, M. (2022, May). The vulnerability and agency of refugee women: A feminist postcolonial analysis of the European Union's borderscapes. *Gender Politik Online*. https://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/int_bez/frauenmenschenrechte/Vulnerability-and-Agency-of-Refugee-Women/index.html

Sann, R., Lai, P-C., & Chen, C-T. (2023). Crisis adaptation in a Thai community-based tourism setting during the COVID-19 pandemic: A qualitative phenomenological approach. *Sustainability*, *15*(1), Article 340. https://doi.org/10.3390/su15010340

Santi Diwyarthi, N., Anom Kumbara, A., Wirawan, A., & Sirtha, I. (2021). Female tourism workers and the COVID-19 pandemic. *E-Journal of Cultural Studies*, *14*(3), 7–13. https://doi.org/10.24843/cs.2021.v14.i03.p02

Stroud, I., & Gutman, L.M. (2021). Longitudinal changes in the mental health of UK young male and female adults during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Psychiatry Research*, *303*, Article 114074. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2021.114074

Teti, M., Schatz, E., & Liebenberg, L. (2020). Methods in the time of COVID-19: The vital role of qualitative inquiries. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *19*, 1–5. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920920962

Thakur, V., Khaira, S., & Sharma, V. K. (2019). Effects of tourism and hospitality industry development on Indian economy. In V. S. Rana, G. Bathla & A. Raina (Eds.),

Hospitality management education in India: Present status, challenges and opportunities (pp. 57–60). Bharti Publications.

Thibaut, F., & van Wijngaarden-Cremers, P. J. M. (2020). Women's mental health in the time of Covid-19 pandemic. *Frontiers in Global Women's Health*, *1*, Article 588372. https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2020.588372

Tuffin, K., & Howard, C. (2001). Demystifying discourse analysis: Theory, method and practice. In A. McHoul & M. Rapley (Eds.), *How to analyse talk in institutional settings: A casebook of methods* (pp. 196–205). Continuum International.

United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2008). *Glossary of tourism terms.* https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms

Van Langenhove, L., & Harré, R. (1994). Cultural stereotypes and positioning theory. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *24*(4), 359–372. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1994.tb00260.x

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretive repertoires. In C. Antaki (Ed.), *Analysing everyday explanation* (pp. 168–183). SAGE Publications.

Wilson, D., Moloney, E., Parr, J. M., Aspinall, C., & Slark, J. (2021). Creating an indigenous Māori-centred model of relational health: A literature review of Māori models of health. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *30*(23-24), 3539–3555. https://doi.org/10.1111/jocn.15859

Winiata, P. (2003). *Guiding kaupapa of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa.* Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa. https://irp-cdn.multiscreensite.com/002b888d/files/uploaded/Guiding_Kaupapa.pdf

Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical investigations*. Blackwell.

World Justice Project. (2021). *World justice project rule of law index 2021.* https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-INDEX-21.pdf

World Travel & Tourism Council. (2019a, January). *Travel & tourism: Generating jobs for youth.* https://wttc.org/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/2019/Social%20Impact-Generating%20Jobs%20for%20Youth-Jan%202019.pdf?ver=2021-02-25-182754-083

World Travel & Tourism Council. (2019b, March). *Travel & tourism: Driving women's success.* https://wttc.org/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/2019/Social%20Impact-Driving%20Womens%20Success-Mar%202019.pdf?ver=2021-02-25-182742-097

Yang, E. C. L., & Schänzel, H. (2023). On the gender imperative in tourism geographies research. *Tourism Geographies*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2023.2290002

Yildirim, M. (2021). Tracing the consent, adaptation and resistance practices of an 'unsustainable' workforce: The governmentality of workplaces in tourism industry. *Tourism Management*, *84*, Article 104260. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2020.104260

Yin, J., & Ni, Y. (2021). COVID-19 event strength, psychological safety, and avoidance coping behaviors for employees in the tourism industry. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, *47*, 431–442. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2021.04.017

Notes on Contributors

Dr. Natilene Bowker is a senior academic staff member in Psychology at the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand. She facilitates courses in social psychology, personality, human development, and grief. Her research experience began with an ethnographic study of chatroom operators and identity reconstruction online. She has discursively analysed what it means to be online for people with physical and sensory disabilities, and undergraduate students' online chat of lower-than-expected assessment feedback. She has engaged in collaborative work on understanding how people navigate the tensions and conflict within interpersonal relationships in the intimacy of shared domestic living.

Ella McLeod is a student in the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) programme within the Department of Psychology (Te Tari Whakamātau Hinekaro) at the University of Otago (Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka). Her scholarly interests centre on mental health, with a particular focus on understanding and improving interventions to enhance treatment efficacy.

ORCID

Natilene Bowker, https://orcid.org/0009-0004-3041-458
Ella McLeod, https://orcid.org/0009-0002-8931-3822